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EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND

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EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND.

I. SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

To the student of history it is by no means surprising that, in the distracted condition of Ireland during the last half of the fifteenth century and the whole of the sixteenth, the arts of peace did not make much progress at that period in that country. The remarkable lawlessness that prevailed during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III; the turmoil and party strife engendered by the appearance of two impostor-claimants to the throne of Henry VII in the persons of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; the grievances represented by "coyne and livery" and "black rent," coupled with the suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of church lands, under Henry VIII; the bitterness of sectarianism during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary; the terrible persecutions and confiscations which followed the Desmond rebellions and the revolt of Ulster, and the various atrocities which are veiled under the phrase "the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland"—all tended to keep the quondam island of saints and scholars, the sometime University of Europe, from profiting by and sharing in the advancing civilization of the times.

Scarcely a greater proof of this backwardness could be found than the fact that, despite the wonderful impetus which the invention of printing by movable types had given in most European countries to the production, multiplication, and dissemination of books, a period of some seventy-four years elapsed between the date of the introduction of printing into England by Caxton and the appearance of the first book printed in Ireland. That a printing press was set up even then would be, the condition of the country always borne in mind, a cause of some wonder, did we not know that its establishment was due to the political and religious exigencies of the party of

ascendancy rather than to any enthusiasm on the part of the nation at large for the new art.

Despite some speculative reasons that have been advanced to prove that printing was done in Ireland at an earlier date, it is now, in the absence of any actual records, generally accepted that the first Irish printing press was set up in Dublin in 1550, in the reign of Edward VI, and that its earliest production made its appearance in the following year. The title of this work was The Boke of the common praier and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the use of the Churche of England. This book was a verbal reprint of Grafton's edition of The Book of Common Prayer—the First Prayer Book of Edward VI —and bears for colophon Imprinted by Humfrey Powell, printer to the Kynges Maiestie in his Highnesse realme of Ireland, dwellinge in the citee of Dublin in the great toure by the Crane. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, anno Domini MDLI. This work is described by Dr. Rutty, of Dublin, in a letter of June 28th, 1744, to Dr. William Clark, of London, as a large quarto or rather folio in black letter; by Dr. Cotton, writing in 1832, it is set down as "a folio, a book of very great rarity," and he adds that "a fine and perfect copy may be seen in the library of Trinity College, Dublin." There is no copy in the British Museum, but in Emanuel College, Cambridge, there is a copy which at one time was the property of Archbishop Sancroft (1616-1693). The Trinity College copy measures $10\frac{3}{8}$ by 7 inches; that in Emanuel College is $11\frac{3}{20}$ by $7\frac{3}{10}$ inches.

The Book of Common Prayer has had many vicissitudes. It is to a large extent a translation of the Catholic Liturgy, from the Breviary, the Missal, the Ritual or Manual, and the Pontifical, with the omission or alteration of those parts which were objectionable to the reformers or which in their superior wisdom they deemed superstitious, and the substitution or addition of other forms instead. Already in 1540, during the reign of Henry VIII, the liturgy had been revised by a committee of divines, and their work, further revised by a Convocation in

1543, appeared in the latter year under the title of The King's As a matter of fact, this was the first English Book of Common Prayer. That title, however, is usually given to the liturgy which was the work of Cranmer, Ridley, and eleven other divines, and which, fully sanctioned by Church and State, came into use on the feast of Pentecost in 1549. Prayer Book of Edward VI, which Powell reprinted at Dublin in 1551, differed materially from the King's Primer. It contained offices for Communion in both kinds, with offices for Sundays and Holydays, for Baptism, Confirmation, and Burial; and prescribed Prayers for the Dead and the use of the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, Consecration, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Visitation of the Sick. In a second edition, in 1550, the ordination services were added. A Calvinistic feeling was, however, growing, and to meet this, Cranmer, with the aid of Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, prepared a new version, in which there were several alterations and additions and several noteworthy omissions, among them being the omission of certain prayers for the dead. This liturgy, sanctioned by Parliament if not also by Convocation, came into operation on the feast of All Saints in 1552, and is known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. It marks the highest point of Puritanism ever attained by the liturgy of the English Church. In Mary's reign, the English Prayer Book was banned, and the Latin Missal substituted. This in turn was set aside by Parliament under Elizabeth, and in 1559 the third Book of Common Prayer was published. It was based on the Second Book of Edward VI, with alterations rather in a Catholic direction. The liturgy was further revised in the reign of James I as the result of the Hampton Court Conference, and the fourth Book of Common Prayer was published in 1604. A translation of this book into Irish, without the Psalms, appeared in 1608, and reprints of it in English were made in Dublin in 1621 and in 1637. In the last-named year the Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland, generally known as Laud's Book, was published at Edinburgh. The attempt to force its adoption on Scotland produced the Solemn League and Covenant with all its momentous consequences. The 1604 edition remained current in England until 1643, when its use was entirely forbidden by the Long Parliament, and from 1645 until 1661 it could not be employed unless at the risk of dire pains and penalties. On the restoration of Charles II a number of Episcopalian and Presbyterian divines met at the Palace of the Savoy in London-forming what is known as the Savoy Conference—for the purpose of revising the Book of Common Prayer; but, though they sat for four months, the points of difference were too many and too acute to admit of any agree-The Episcopalian party, however, decided on some changes, which both Convocation and Parliament sanctioned, and the new version, the fifth Book of Common Prayer, appeared This was the last edition in which any change was made by authority of Church or State in the liturgy of the Church of England, although it is true that certain services were discontinued by the late Queen Victoria by Order in Council, and that sundry slight changes have been effected in comparatively recent years. On account of a clause in the Act of Conformity, 13, Car. II [1662] requiring every Dean and Chapter in England and Wales to obtain under the Great Seal of England a true and perfect copy of that Act and of the Book of Common Prayer, this fifth book is generally called The Sealed Book of Charles II. It was reprinted in Dublin in 1664, 1665, and 1666, and frequently since. This Book was common to England and Ireland until the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1869; but in 1870 a synod held in Dublin agreed on a separate Prayer Book for Ireland. is in essentials the same as the Anglican Prayer Book, the principal difference being the omission of lessons from the Apocrypha and of certain rubrics and forms, and the addition of one question and answer in the Church Catechism.

Humphrey Powell, who printed the First Prayer Book of Edward VI in Dublin in 1551, had been a printer in Holborn Conduit, London, in 1548, and two years later he went as King's Printer to Ireland, presumably under royal patent, for we find that in July, 1550, a warrant was issued by the English Privy

Council "to deliver XX li. [twenty pounds, sterling] unto Powell the printer given him by the King's Majestie towards his setting up in Irelande." Moving from "the great toure by the Crane" to a residence in St. Nicholas Street on the south side of the River Liffey, Powell continued to carry on his business as a printer for some fifteen years after 1551, and it is said that his productions were, from the typographical point of view, "most creditable to the early Irish press." Besides the Book of Common Prayer, three other specimens of Powell's work have come down to us, namely, two proclamations and a Brief Declaration of certain Principal Articles of Religion.

The first proclamation—the forerunner of many another for which Dublin Castle was responsible—was against a personage no less redoubtable than Shane O'Neill, John the Proud. Shane O'Neill was one of the most formidable opponents that the English power ever encountered in Ireland. For a long time it was the fashion in certain quarters to pretend to regard him as a half-savage, but the verdict of history has been very different. Deficient in personal morality, and lacking those qualities of long-suffering patience and powers of organization which were the essential characteristics of his great kinsman, Hugh O'Neill, Shane was nevertheless a skilled leader in the field, and he proved himself a fine administrator in time of peace. His father, Conn O'Neill, had been created Earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII, and had thereupon agreed to drop the title of The O'Neill, to which he had been duly elected, and at the same time Conn's son, Matthew-illegitimate at best and doubtfully Conn's son at all-was created Baron of Dungannon, with the right of succession to the Earldom of Tyrone. Both arrangements were extremely distasteful to the clan O'Neill, and when Shane, one of Conn's legitimate sons, grew to man's estate he determined to fight for his rights and the rights of his clan. In 1551, in a dispute which arose between Conn and his son Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, the English took the side of Matthew, and carried off Conn to Dublin, where, though not actually imprisoned, he was kept, sorely

against his will, for more than a year. In revenge for this enforced detention of his father, Shane devastated Louth, one of the counties of the English Pale, in 1553, but he was ultimately defeated by an English army near Dundalk. In 1556 he went to Dublin, made his submission to the Deputy, and received pardon. His expedition in 1557 against the O'Donnell's of Tyrconnell ended so disastrously that the spirit of any one but Shane would have been broken. His star, however, was speedily in the ascendant again, for in 1558 his rival, the Baron of Dungannon, was killed, and in 1559 his father, the Earl of Tyrone, died, and Queen Elizabeth, on the representation of Sir Henry Sidney, who was then Deputy for the Earl of Sussex, decided that Shane should be allowed to succeed to his father's title and estates. On the advice of Cecil, however, she soon changed her mind, and in 1560 declared that the young Baron of Dungannon, Brian, son of Matthew, was the rightful heir to Conn, and that the lands of which he had been dispossessed by Shane should be restored; and she commanded the Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, to compel Shane to show the obedience due from a subject. So important did it seem at this juncture to crush Shane that Elizabeth herself wrote to several Irish chieftains asking for assistance against him, and a powerful confederacy of O'Reilly's and O'Donnell's, O'Madden's and O'Shaughnessy's, with Sorley Boy McDonnell of Antrim and his Scots, all aided by the English forces, was formed to compass his downfall. In face of odds apparently so overwhelming, Shane first sent to the Queen a statement of his grievances and of his claims; and then early in 1561 he invaded the Pale, turned aside and defeated O'Reilly, and finally carried off Calvagh O'Donnell and his wife from the monastery of Kilodonnell. He threw Calvagh into prison and subjected him to even grosser indignities. In retaliation for the invasion of the Pale and the defeat and contumelious treatment of the English allies, Sussex took Armagh and left a garrison there. Against this invasion of his territory Shane put in a vigorous protest. It was about this time that the proclamation declaring him to be a traitor and a rebel and

offering a reward for his head was published. It contains 212 lines and is undated, but the date is fixed as being June 23rd, 1561, by the covering letter in which the copy, now to be found in the Public Record Office, London, was sent to England. The proclamation was issued by the authority of "the Right Honble. The Earl of Sussex, Lord Lyeutenant General of Ireland with the assent of the Nobility and Councel." But the Castle fulmination was powerless at first to check Shane's enward career. His reply to it was to inflict a crushing defeat on Sussex and his army near Armagh. Another devastation of the Pale was followed by an unsuccessful attempt on the part of Sussex to have Shane assassinated by a servant. one Neal Grey. After this Shane refused to have any dealings with Sussex, but the Earl of Kildare, who was sent to Ireland from England specially for the purpose, induced him to go to London to submit the matters in dispute to Elizabeth in person. guarantees being given for his safety. His spectacular appearance at the English court accompanied by his gallowglasses has been often described. He behaved with great dignity and even haughtiness, so that a courtier spoke of him as "O'Neill the Great, cousin of St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England. enemy to all the world beside." Shane found that his suit did not make much progress, and he was detained in London. despite his remonstrances, from January until May, 1562. The wonder is that he was allowed to get away at all; but the death of Brian, the young Baron of Dungannon, recently recognized as Earl of Tyrone, made it good policy for Elizabeth and her advisers to allow Shane to return home, on certain conditions. Once safe in his native fastnesses Shane set these conditions at nought, and proceeded to attack the surrounding chieftains. the allies of England, as vigorously as ever. Peace was at length made in 1563, and Shane was confirmed in the title of The O'Neill with unquestioned and supreme power in Ulster. During this peace he governed his territory so well that the Brehon law was actively executed, robbery and violence were put down with a strong hand, commerce with the continent was encouraged and developed, the land became fertile and pro-

ductive once more under the care of the husbandman, and many dwellers of the Pale migrated to Ulster for the greater security to be enjoyed in the territory of The O'Neill. But Shane was too powerful for a subject. Sir Henry Sidney, who was sent to Ireland as Deputy towards the end of 1565, was determined to crush him, and took active measures for that object. downfall of the northern chief was, however, to come from another quarter. On the shores of Lough Swilly in 1567 he met his Waterloo, being defeated with the loss of 3000 men by his ancient foes, the O'Donnell's. From that stricken field he fled to the protection of his sometime allies but more recent foes, the Scotch McDonnell's of Antrim. They received him kindly at first, but the memory of the defeat he had inflicted on them at Glenflesk in 1565 still rankled in their bosoms, and in a brawl that arose O'Neill was set upon and done to death. His body, which had been flung into a pit, was afterwards disinterred by one Captain Piers, who cut off the head, carried it to Dublin, and had it placed on a stake on Dublin Castle. Piers received the 1000 marks reward offered for Shane's head. and thus the proclamation, after so many years of turmoil, war, and slaughter, at length had its complete realization.

The second proclamation to which reference has been made was issued by "the Lords Justice and Counsell." It bears date August 16th, 1564, and was against "the rebels of the O'Connors." It contains 78 lines, and it also is to be found in the Public Record Office, London.

The last of Powell's printing that we know of is A Brefe Declaration of certein Principall Articles of Religion; set out by order and aucthoritie as well of the right Honorable Sir Henry Sidney Knyght of the most noble order, Lord presidet of the Coucel in the Principallitie of Wales, & Marches of the same, and general deputie of this Realme of Ireland, as by Tharchebyshops, & Byshopes, & other her maiesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme. The only copy of this pamphlet known to exist is to be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains eight unpaged leaves, and measures 7 by 5½ inches.

With this Brief Declaration Humphrey Powell disappears from view, and we hear of him no more for ever. It is not to be supposed, however, that he was idle between 1551 and 1561, and again from 1561 to 1564 and from 1564 to 1566; the only assumption we can make is that what he printed during those apparently vacant periods has not survived. One work that may with considerable conjectural probability be assigned to him is the printing of the Statutes for Sir Henry Sidney, a task to which later reference will be made.

A work of a highly controversial type purports to have been printed at Waterford during the reign of Mary in 1555. It was written by John Olde, an exile for the Protestant religion under Queen Mary, and bears for title The acquital or purgation of the most Catholyke Christen Prince, Edwarde the VI, Kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, &c., and of the Churche of Englande reformed and governed under him, against al suche as blasphemously and traitorously infame him or the sayd Church, of heresie or sedicion. It is dedicated thus: "To the nobilitie and to the reste of the charitable Christen laytie of Englande, John Olde wisheth grace and mercy from God the Father, and from Jesus Christe the common and only Saveour of the worlde, with the gifte of perfite faithe and earnest repentaunce." It is neatly printed in black letter, and has the quotations in italics. On the recto of the last leaf it has the following colophon in Roman type: Emprinted at Vvaterford, the 7 days of Novembre, 1555. Ames and Dr. Cotton agree in the belief that, despite the colophon, this work was not printed at Waterford. The former leans to the opinion that it was privately printed in England, on the ground that he had no assurance that any press was set up so early at Waterford, and that it must have been as dangerous to print such a book openly there, during Queen Mary's reign, as in England. Dr. Cotton's reason for the rejection of Waterford is simply that he cannot claim for that city "so early an acquaintance with the mysteries of the art of printing." Neither reasoning seems entirely satisfactory in face of the explicit statement contained in the book itself.

Another, though smaller, treatise, is believed to have been printed at the same time and place as Olde's work, because the letter, paper, and presswork exactly correspond. This second work bears this formidable title: An epistle wrytten by John Scory, the late Bishope of Chichester, unto all the faithfull that be in pryson in Englande, or in any other troble for the defence of Goddes truthe: wherein he dothe, as well by the promises of mercy as also by the nsamples of diverse holy martyres, comfort, encourage, and strengthe them patiently for Christes sake to suffer the manifolde cruell and moste tyranous persecutios of ye Anti-christian tormentours; exhorting them to contynue in faythfull prayers, innocency of lyfe, patience. and hope, that God maye the rather deliver them, restore againe the light of His Gospell to Englande, and confounde all the proude, beastly, and develishe enterprises of Antichristes garde, that doo imagine nothing els but ye subversion of the Gospell of Christ, and contynually thurste for the bloud of all due Christians. In the world ye shall have tribulatio: but be of good cheare, I have overcom the worlde, John XV. Anno 1555. It bears the following dedication: "Unto the faythfull and most valeant souldiours of the great Captain, the Lorde Jesus Christ, that be in prison in England, or any other where in banyshmet and trouble for the defence of Goddes Worde, John Scory willingly a banished man for the same Worde, wisheth from God our Father, the grace, comfort, and strength of His Holy Goost thorowe our only Mediatour Jesus Christ." At the end it has: "Apoc. 22, Veni, Domine, Jesu cito. Anno 1555," without printer's name or place. It is printed wholly in black letter, with the marginal references in italics. Both Olde and Scory's works are in the Bodleian Library.

Yet a third Waterford publication used to be mentioned in the catalogue of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the entry being: "Archbishop Cranmer's Confutation of unwritten verities, 8vo., Waterford, 1555." This book, however, is no longer to be found there, the story being that it and many other rare works were stolen from the library by a confidential servant in the early years of the nineteenth century. This statement is made on the authority of Dr. Cotton, the present writer not having had the opportunity of personally verifying it.

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Sir Henry Sidney, who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1565, and who held the celebrated tumultuous Parliament which assembled at Dublin in January, 1568-9, ordered all the statutes enacted in Ireland from their first institution down to his own time to be collected and printed. was done we have proof in the Chronicles of Ireland, by Vowel, printed in Holinshed, 1586, in which the writer says: "Whereas there were manie good lawes and statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid up and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and utterlie unknowne to the most part of the whole land, and everie man ignorant in the lawes of his owne countrie, he [Sir Henry Sidney] caused a thorough view, and a review to be made, and then a choice of all good statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution; which, being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation." This collection of laws is assumed to have been printed at Dublin during one of Sidney's administrations. Of this, however, we cannot be quite certain, for no copy appears to be extant. If the printing was done in Dublin and early in Sidney's Irish career, the printer was probably Humphrey Powell.

This same Vowel, alias Hooker, who, by the way, was uncle to the celebrated Richard Hooker, author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, made a most interesting compilation which appeared in 1572 without printer's name or place of printing, but which, from certain internal evidence contained in the "Epistle Dedicatory," is with some inherent probability thought to have been printed in Dublin. Its title is The Order and Usage of keeping of the Parlements in England, collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman. Vowel had been a member of that disorderly Irish Parliament of 1568-9 to which reference has been already made. There was so much commotion and interruption in the discharge of business for want of order and regularity that a formal request was made to the Speaker for

the reformation of conduct so unseemly. The greatly harassed Speaker promised to do his best in the matter, and, for that purpose, took counsel with those who were acquainted with the procedure of the English Parliament. Among those so consulted was Vowel, who promised to make full inquiry, and undertook to have the standing orders of the English Parliament set forth in print. With that end in view, he crossed to England, and was elected as a member for his native city of Exeter to the Parliament held at Westminster in 1571. The result of his investigations was the book, the title of which has just been given. It is thus dedicated: "To the right honorable his very good Lord, Sir William Fitz-William, Knight, L. deputye of Ireland, John Vowel alias Hooker, with all humbleness and due reuerece, wisheth a happy successe and a prosperous gouernmet to th' encrease of God's honour in true Religion, the Queenes maiesties scruice in due obedience, and the administration of the publique welth in Justice, Equitie, and Judgement." The dedication is dated: "The third of October, 1572." He thus tells Fitz-William how he proceeded to carry out his promise to the Speaker of the Irish Parliament. "I thought it then a moste fit time for the acquittall of my said promise, wherefore diligently I did observe, consider and mark all maner of orders, usages, rites, ceremonies, and all other circumstaces, which either I sawe with eye, or found regestred among the records of that assembly [the English Parliament]. And having written the same: I did then confer with the exemplars and presidents of tholde and ancient Parlemets used in tymes past with in the said Realme of England, whereof I found two, the one was that which King Edgar (or as some say, King Edward the Confessor) used, thother, which was in use in time of Kig Edward the first. The forme as wel for antiquitie's sake, as also for a presidet to the good governmet in tholde yeers: I have annexed to these presents, thother, in soe things agreeable, and in many things disagreeable, both fro the first and the last; I have omitted. This which now is in use being it which is onely to be followed and used." Following the dedicatory epistle he sets down "The olde and auncient order of keeping of the

Parlement in England, used in the time of King Edward the Confessor." This recital occupies sixteen pages. Next he sets down "The order and usage how to keep a Parlement in England in these dayes, colected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman, one of the citizens for the Cittie of Exeter, at the Parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini Elizabethae Reginae decimo Tertio, 1571." This disquisition runs to thirty-one pages, and is reprinted verbatim in his Chronicles of Ireland, inserted in Holinshed, 1586. The whole book is a quarto. There is a copy in the British Museum, where its place of origin is given conjecturally as Exeter, and its date 1575.

The first font of Irish type used in Ireland was presented by Queen Elizabeth to John Kerney, Kearney, or O'Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. O'Kearney tells us himself that the type was provided "at the cost of the high, pious, great, and mighty prince, Elizabeth." From the State Papers (Irish Series) we learn, under date December, 1567, that the queen had expended a sum of £66. 13s. 4d. "for the making of carecters for the testament in irishe," and this was probably the set of type which she sent to Ireland. At all events, from the font presented to him by Elizabeth, O'Kearney caused to be printed at Dublin in 1571 a book which was entitled an Irish Alphabet and Catechism. Besides the Catechism and some prayers, it contained the elements of the Irish Language and Archbishop Parker's celebrated "Advertisements" for church practices and ritual. The title page is translated as follows by Gertrude Burford Rawlings in her Story of Books (New York, 1901):

Irish Alphabet and Catechism.

Precept or instruction of a Christian, together with certain articles of the Christian rule, which are proper for everyone to adopt who would be submissive to the ordinance of God and of the Queen in this Kingdom; translated from Latin and English into Irish by John O'Kearney.

Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord? Arise, cast us not off for ever. Ps. xliii, ver. 23.

Printed in Irish in the town of the Ford of the Hurdles, at the cost

of Master John Usher, alderman, at the head of the Bridge, the 20th day of June, 1571.

With the privilege of the great Queen.

1571.

Only three copies of the work are known to exist. One is in the British Museum, another in the Bodleian Library, and the third in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral. No printer's name is given, but the printer was probably O'Kearney himself. O'Kearney was assisted in his work of translation by his intimate friend and companion, Nicholas Walsh, who at the date mentioned was chancellor of St. Patrick's, and who was consecrated bishop of Ossory in February, 1577.

It is to be remarked that the font used in printing O'Kearney's Irish Alphabet and Catechism is not entirely Irish, many of the letters being ordinary Roman or Italian. This font continued to be used in several works during the early years of the seventeenth century, and is found as late as 1652 in Godfrey Daniel's Christian Doctrine. As might naturally be expected, the Irish seminaries abroad had a better supply of Irish type. A new Irish type was cast in England by Moxon and is said by Mores (Dissertations upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries, London, 1778) to have been used for the first time in Bishop Bedel's translation of the Old Testament in 1686, but it would appear that it was used at least five years earlier, in 1681, in the Irish translation of the New Testament, which was printed by Robert Everingham at the charge of Robert Boyle, the great natural philosopher.

Apropos of attempts to have a version of the Bible made for the use of those inhabitants of Ireland who understood only the native tongue, it may be of interest to note that O'Kearney and Walsh appear to have also collaborated in a translation of the New Testament into Irish, for, in the records of the Acts of the Privy Council, under date August, 1587, we find it stated that this joint work was then in existence in manuscript, but was never printed partly for want of suitable type and skilled printers and partly on acount of the cost. The conclusion which, on a review of all the facts, suggests itself is that O'Kearney's *Irish Alphabet and Catechism* was printed as a trial of the new type, that the type was found "inadequate for the larger work, and that for some reason there was a difficulty about supplying more or finding anyone to undertake the printing." Hence the delay in the appearance of an Irish version of the Scriptures.

It is generally supposed that the Irish Alphabet and Catechism was the first book printed in Irish type, but this credit has also been claimed for Bishop Carswell's translation of the Scottish Prayer-Book, which was printed in Edinburgh in 1567 by Roibeard Lekprevik for the use of the Highlanders of Scotland in a certain form of Gaelic which was common at that period to Ireland and Scotland. The type used, however, in this latter publication is not Irish or Gaelic but Roman, so that we seem justified in allowing O'Kearney's work to hold its pride of place.

There did, however, appear in 1571 a poem in Irish, which is therefore contemporary with the Alphabet and Catechism. Its place of origin was Dublin. It is a religious poem of $22\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas of 8 lines each, printed in broadside in three parallel columns. An original copy is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This has been reproduced in photographic facsimile, and in that form may be inspected in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin and in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The title has been thus translated by Mr. John McNeill, Vice-President of the Gaelic League: A poem this, by Philip, son of Conn Crossach, in which is Shown the Awful Description of the Day of Doom, and the Manner in which Christ will come to Judgment, and the Words He shall say thereat. The printer was probably O'Kearney.

In 1587 one William Farmer, a "Chirurgion," wrote An Almanack for Ireland. There is some doubt as to whether or not it was printed in Dublin, as the copy in the Bodleian

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¹ Story of Books, p. 135.

Library is supposed to have been printed in London. At all events it was, doubtless, the earliest almanae printed in or for Ireland, and is so mentioned by Harris in his Additions to Ware's Writers of Ireland, 1746.

The list of prints produced in Ireland in the sixteenth century is closed, appropriately enough, by two proclamations. The first is dated the 12th June, 1595, and was issued in the name of the queen against the Earl of Tyrone (that is, Hugh O'Neill) and his adherents in Ulster. It was printed by William Kearney, Queen's printer, "in the Cathedrall Church of the Blessed Trinitie" (now Christ Church). It is a single sheet, and contains 67 lines. That there were good grounds for the proclamation from the Government point of view will. be readily realized when it is remembered that it was issued when O'Neill had formed his great Northern confederacy, and in the very year of the battle of Clontibret—at a time therefore when suspicion of the Ulster leader had deepened into certainty, and the greatest uneasiness as to the outcome was felt by those responsible to the queen for the government of The second proclamation issued by "the L. Deputie [Mountjoy] and Councell" was dated 22nd November, 1600, and was also against "Hugh Neale, called O'Neale." It was printed by John Franke (or Franckton) "at the Bridgefoote," was a single sheet, and ran to 50 lines. Unlike the preceding proclamation, the body of which was in black letter, this one was in Roman type. Both are to be found in the Public Record Office, London.

This completes the list of printed matter of which we have knowledge as having been produced in Ireland in the sixteenth century. To that century Ware assigns forty-two Irish writers, the authors of some one hundred and four books. Not one of these works purports to have been printed in Ireland, all showing such places of origin as Douay, Antwerp, Zurich, and Venice. Hence the list we have had so far to deal with is a rather exiguous one; but we shall see that in the seventeenth century there was a very vigorous output of books, pamphlets, proclamations, and other publications from various Irish centres.

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EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND.

II. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

A very sad chapter of Irish history is made up of the events of the seventeenth century. Presented to our gaze in rapid and melancholy succession are the final defeat of the confederate Irish chieftains at the battle of Kinsale; the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell in Spain; the devastation of the fair lands of Ulster; the submission of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone; the flight of the Earls; the Jacobean plantation of Ulster; the stern rule of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; the broken faith of Charles I; the atrocities on both sides which accompanied and followed the rebellion of 1641; the failure of the Confederation of Kilkenny; the terrible career of Cromwell in Ireland and the sickening scenes of the Cromwellian Settlement; the religious troubles under Charles II; the battle of the Boyne and the other events of the Williamite war; and finally the drastic penal laws enacted against the Catholics of Ireland in the reign of William III, to be continued with even increased severity in the reigns of Anne, George I, and George II.

Joined to the political and religious history are events of supreme economic and sociological importance. Thus, in addition to the plantations of James I and of Cromwell, which are in a class by themselves and stand apart, we find most determined attempts made from time to time to root out the prosperity of Ireland, in the mistaken belief that it was prejudicial to the prosperity of England. Hence arose the enactments against the woollen trade in the reigns of Charles I and William III; and the suppression of all exports from Ireland to the British colonies, and of the export of Irish cattle, sheep, and pigs to England, under Charles II; to be followed in later times by interference with the manufacture of and trade in gunpowder, silk, cotton, hats, iron and iron-ware, malt, and beer. The effects of these enactments in restraint of trade

have been felt in many ways all through the ages down even to our own time. One of their saddest and most ruinous consequences was to produce a great dearth of employment, which in turn started that stream of emigration which has flowed on almost without intermission ever since and has drained away a great part of the life-blood of the Irish nation.

There are, however, some bright spots amid the gloom, which the gloom indeed heightens, but which on their part make the gloom seem darker still. Such are the victory of Owen Roe O'Neill over Monroe and his Scots at Benburb; the establishment of the linen trade by Wentworth and its development by Ormond; the heroic defence of Derry on the one side and of Limerick on the other; the beginning of that movement for an Irish Ireland which, dimly foreshadowed by Sir John Davies and Sir Richard Bolton, was voiced in no uncertain tones by William Molyneux, was kept alive at different epochs by Swift and Lucas and Thomas Davis, was never allowed to die entirely out, and seems on the point of realization in our own day; and, lastly and chiefly, the loyal adherence and unswerving devotion which, despite bribe and threat and process of law and direst persecution, the great majority of the people of Ireland have ever displayed to the throne of Peter and to their ancient faith.

Many of the events to which reference has been made are faithfully reflected in the productions of the contemporary Irish press. As is naturally to be expected, printing in Ireland now began to take a wider range. New printing presses were established in such centres as Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, and Waterford, and turned out not only proclamations, acts of parliament, and religious treatises, but also newspapers and works of greater literary pretensions. Any list that contains The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia by Sir Philip Sidney; Spenser's View of the Present State of Ireland; Ware's Writers of Ireland; Thomas Randolph's Play of Aristippus, or the Joviall Philosopher; Henry Burnell's Tragi-Comedy of Landgartha; Cowley's Poems; the Pompey of Mrs. Katherine Phillips, "the Matchless Orinda"; Ogilvie's Translations of Virgil and Homer; John Jones's Elegies on the Earl of Mount-

rath and Threnodia on the seventeenth Earl of Kildare; Lemuel Mathews's Pindarique on Jeremy Taylor; Dryden's Medal, The Hind and the Panther, and Threnodia Augustalis; Mrs. Aphra Behn's Pindarick on the death of Charles II; Jonathan Swift's Pindarique Ode to King William III to Congratulate him on his Great Successes; Nahum Tate's Ode on the Centenary of the University of Dublin; Charles Hopkins's Poem, Whitehall; or the Court of England; George Wilkins's Chase of the Stagg; James Aickin's Londerias; Gilbert Burnett's Essay on the Memory of the Late Queen [Mary, wife of William III]; William Molyneux's Case of Ireland Stated; and William Phillips's Comedy of St. Stephen's Green, or the Generous Lovers, can scarcely be said to be lacking in antiquarian, historical, political, or literary interest.

History in the making can be seen in the countless proclamations, declarations, acts of parliament, addresses from and to sovereigns, and sermons on specified occasions that were published in Dublin during the century. The bitterness of religious controversy can be judged in many cases from the very titles of the multifarious controversial books and pamphlets which the student meets with in the course of his researches. Medical works prove that even then doctors differed, and that the quack was not wholly unknown in the land. Court poetry is well represented, and so are natural philosophy, astronomy, and astrology, while of the making of almanacs with prognostications of dread events to come there seems to have been no end.

In Dublin alone some 1250 separate printed works were issued between 1601 and 1700. These were not in English only, but also in Irish, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Hebrew, and Welsh. Other centres were also fairly busy. Amid so bewildering a number and variety of publications it is obvious that within the limits of this article no exhaustive treatment can be attempted. All that can be done is to draw attention to anything that for any reason seems specially worthy of note or surrounded with peculiar interest.

As we wound up the sixteenth century with a proclamation, so, in 1601, we begin the seventeenth with another, and procla-

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mations are found "as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa" all through the hundred years we are now considering. Naturally enough, these are directed mainly against the political enemies of the government, but many of them are also concerned with such subjects as Defective Titles, Grants to "Undertakers," the Customs, Rates on Ale and "Bier," the Raising of Monies for His Majesty's Armie, the Regulation of Wages, the Standard of Coin, the Destruction of Wolves, and even the Ringing It is perhaps needless to state that there are several proclamations concerning the banishment of Priests and Jesuits, the "Catholicks" of Ireland, the removal of Popish Recusants from Dublin, the Suppression of Popery, Papists, and Popish The spirit of these latter proclamations is that which animated Cromwell when he said to Colonel Taaffe at Ross: "If by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, it is best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, that where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of." Vain threat, vain prophecy!

In 1602 William Daniell or O'Donnell, afterwards Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, who was one of the first "scholars" of the newly established Trinity College and also one of its first elected Fellows, published at Dublin an Irish translation of the New Testament mainly at the expense of Sir William Ussher, and in 1608 at his own expense an Irish translation of the Book of Common Prayer. The type used was that which had been employed in the Irish Alphabet and Catechism in In the New Testament O'Donnell utilised the earlier labors, already alluded to, of Kearney and Walsh, and he also had the help of Nehemiah Donnellan, his own predecessor in the Archbishopric of Tuam. His principal assistant was, however, one Murtagh King, who, despite some aspersions cast at a later period on his attainments by personages in high places, seems to have been a sound Irish scholar. King not only collaborated in this translation of the New Testament but also, in extreme old age, assisted in the translation into Irish of the Old Testament, which, after many delays and much bitterness of controversy, finally appeared at London in 1686.

The history of this latter translation is fairly interesting.

William Bedell, an Englishman by birth, and a distinguished scholar and theologian, was Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. from 1627 to 1629, when he was appointed Bishop of the united dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh. Finding the great prevalence of the Irish tongue throughout his sees, he set to work. though then sixty years of age, to learn that language. appears to have had considerable linguistic capacity, for he had previously translated the Book of Common Prayer into Italian. He studied Irish to good effect also, and in 1631 he published at Dublin The A. B. C., or the Institution of a Christian, a small octavo pamphlet, of sixteen pages, in English and Irish in parallel columns. In 1634 at a Convocation held in Dublin he brought forward the question of having an Irish version of the Old Testament made. The proposal was supported by Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, but was opposed by Bramall or Bramhall, bishop of Derry, as being dangerous to the state and in contravention of the old Irish statutes in force against the use of the Irish language. Bedell's side, however, gained the day. In the following year there was printed by the Society of Stationers, King's Printers at Dublin, the Constitutions, and Canons Eccllesiasticall Treated upon by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and the rest of the Cleargie of Ireland And agreed upon with the King's Majesties license in their Synod begun at Dublin Anno. Dom. 1634 And in the yeare of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles, King of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, the tenth. And now published for the due observation of them by his Majesties Authoritie under the Great Seale of Ireland. The Canons authorized among other things the provision of a Bible and two Prayer Books in Irish in those districts in which the majority of the people did not speak English, and ordered the service of the day to be conducted in the language of that majority. There was, however, still opposition to the proposed publication of the Old Testament in Irish from several bishops, from Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, then Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and even from Lord Deputy Wentworth himself. Under these circumstances Bedell determined to carry out the work on his own account and at his own expense, but

it was a long and arduous task, and before he could bring it to publication the storm of the rebellion of 1641 burst, and soon after Bedell died (1642). In the history of this terrible time nothing is more touching than the protection afforded to this good Protestant Bishop and his friends by his Catholic neighbours during his lifetime and the veneration which they showed for him on his death. His manuscript translation of the Old Testament came into the hands of the Rev. Dr. Sheridan, in whose house he died; from him it passed to Jones, bishop of Meath; and finally, as already stated, it was printed at London through the instrumentality of the Hon. Robert Boyle and of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh.

Another Churchman of a somewhat different type next claims our attention. The figure of Primate Usher looms large in the history of Ireland during the first half of the seventeenth century. He is one of the glories of Protestantism. When Samuel Johnson was asked by the ever-inquisitive Boswell what he thought of the Irish church, his reply was: "Swift was a man of great parts, and the instrument of much good to his country. Berkeley was a profound scholar, as well as a man of fine imagination; but Usher was the great luminary of the Irish church; and a greater no church could boast of, at least in modern times." In the opinion of a recent writer (D'Alton, History of Ireland, New York, 1907), Usher "stands on a level with Colgan and Lynch and Wadding, and [is] not unworthy to rank even with Duns Scotus; and when he died he left in his own Church neither an equal nor a second."

James Usher (or Ussher), 1581-1656, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, was born in Dublin, and was one of the earliest students of Trinity College, which he entered at the age of thirteen, the year after its foundation; he was its second "scholar" and its eighth elected Fellow, and subsequently declined the dignity of being its Provost. Consecrated bishop of Meath in 1621, he was advanced to the see of Armagh in 1625. During those events in the reign of Charles I which led up to the English Civil War—the Great Rebellion, as Clarendon called it—Usher occupied what was in those days the anomalous position of being a royalist in politics but a Calvinist

in creed. Like other Calvinists of that era he was narrow in his religious views. He was specially hard on Catholicism. In a sermon before the Lord Deputy (Faulkland) in 1622 and again in 1626 in the Bishops' protest, drawn up by him. against toleration for Catholics, he showed a bigotry which consorted badly with his reputation as a scholar. Hence he was a persona non grata to those who professed the ancient religion, and when the Irish rebellion of 1641 broke out he inspired very different feelings from those inspired by the amiable and tolerant Bedell. Usher was in England at the time, engaged in the futile task of trying to accommodate the divisions of opinion between Charles I and the English parliament, and so his person escaped violence, but nearly all his property, except his books, was destroyed by the infuriated insurgents. Nor did he return any more to Armagh, but spent the remainder of his life in England.

This remarkable man was the author of several notable works-some forty in all-of which six, three in Latin and three in English, appear to have been printed and published in Dublin. His great treatises on chronology, on which his reputation was in his own time to a large extent based, were published at Leyden, London, Paris, and Oxford. His chronology had the honor of being adopted for the authorized version of the Bible, and was printed in the margin of its reference editions. His Dublin-published works are A Discourse of the Religion anciently Professed by the Irish and British, 1622; An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland, 1624; Gotteschalchi et Praedestinationae Controversiae ab eo motae, Historia, Una cum duplici ejusdem confessione nunc primum in lucem edita, 1631; Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge; Quae partim ab Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptae, 1632; Immanuel, or a Treatise on the Incarnation, 1638; and Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates et Primordia, 1639.

The Discourse is a controversial work designed to show that the ritual and discipline of the church as originally established in the British Isles were in agreement with the Church of England and opposed to the Church of Rome on the matters in 1

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dispute between them; the Answer was intended to disprove the uniformity of doctrine always maintained by the Church of Rome—a uniformity which had been asserted in a challenge issued in the same year by a Jesuit priest, Rev. William Malone. The Sylloge is a selection of letters dealing with the Irish church from the sixth to the twelfth century; and the Antiquitates. which may be regarded as in some sort a development of the Discourse, contains an account of the Church in Great Britain and Ireland down to the end of the seventh century. latter works gave Usher a deservedly high standing as a learned His History of the Controversy on Predestination deals with the life and opinions of the ninth century heretic, Gottschalk, surnamed Fulgentius, who asserted that from a close study of the writings of St. Augustine the doctrine of absolute predestination—that is, predestination to damnation as well as predestination to salvation—could be maintained. views Gottschalk was found guilty of heresy at the synod of Mainz in 848, and was again condemned at Chiersy in 849, this time not only as a heretic but also as one who set authority at naught and disturbed the peace of the Church, and he was sentenced to be whipped and imprisoned. Confined in the monastery of Hautvilliers in the diocese of Rheims, he there languished for twenty years and died in 868. There is no doubt that towards the teaching set forth by Gottschalk Usher had positive leanings, and for this reason he came on different occasions into conflict with Laud, whose inclinations were beyond doubt towards Arminianism.

This work on Gottschalk was, on the authority of the Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique published at Lyons in 1804 and followed by Dr. Cotton, for long regarded as the first book printed in Latin in Ireland; but we now know that that distinction belongs to a medical treatise on hereditary disease, entitled Pathologia Haereditaria, written by Dr. Dermod O'Meara, a Tipperary man, and printed at Dublin, typis Deputatorum, by John Franckton, King's Printer, in 1619.

Any account of Usher, however brief, should not omit to state the fact that, while collecting manuscripts for his works, he discovered in 1621 the celebrated Book of Kells consisting, as he himself tells us, of 344 leaves. One tradition is that this Book was the property, and even the work, of St. Columba, and was presented by him in the year 550 to the monastery of Kells. Another and more probable opinion is that it belongs to the seventh century. This beautifully-illuminated manuscript—the admiration and the despair of antiquarians—is a book of the Gospels in Latin written on vellum. Along with the remainder of Usher's manuscript collection it was handed over to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1661, and to this day it remains one of the most treasured possessions of the noble library of that institution.

A friend and protégé of Usher's was Sir James Ware. Among the Irish writers of the seventeenth century Ware holds a most conspicuous place. "The Camden of Ireland" was the title given him by Bishop Nicholson. To those who know the full meaning of it this appellation is the highest praise. Nor was it undeserved. Ware was an indefatigable worker, who joined to the occupations of public office an ardent interest in antiquarian lore.

Born in Dublin in 1594 and educated in Trinity College, Ware early developed a taste for antiquarian pursuits, in which he was encouraged by Usher, by Daniel Molyneux, the Ulster King-at-Arms, and by Sir Robert Cotton, founder of the celebrated Cottonian library, now in the British Museum. Knighted in his father's lifetime, Ware succeeded him as Auditor-General of Ireland in 1632, and held various other high offices under Charles I. During the Commonwealth he was exiled on account of his well-known Royalist principles, but on the Restoration he obtained splendid appointments, and had the honor of declining both a baronetcy and a peerage, preferring to remain a simple Knight. One splendid trait in his character is that he stuck loyally to the Earl of Strafford in his downfall and vigorously defended him during the debates on his impeachment. Another is that, in an age of bitterness and acrimony, he displayed a creditable toleration. He died in 1666, and was buried in St. Werburgh's in his native city.

The works which he published are monuments of research. The first is dated 1626, and is entitled Archiepiscoporum Cassi-

liensium et Tuamensium Vitae; duobus expressae Commentariolis. Quibus adjicitur historia coenobiorum Cisterciensium Hiberniae. This was followed in 1628 by the De Praesulibus Lageniae sive Provinciae Dubliniensis Liber Unus. These two books were united into one and published in 1665 as De Praesulibus Hiberniae, Commentarius. A prima Gentis Hibernicae ad Fidem Christianam Conversione ad Nostra usque Tempora. In 1639 he published what is perhaps his best known work, namely, the De Scriptoribus Hiberniae Libri Duo. Prior continet Scriptores in Hibernia natos; posterior scriptores alios qui in Hibernia munera aliqua obierunt. In 1662 appeared his Rerum Hibernicarum Henrico Octavo Regnante Annales. Nunc primum editi, a work which was expanded in 1664 into Rerum Hibernicarum Annales, Regnantibus Henrico VII, Henrico VIII, Edwardo VI, et Maria, Ab anno scil. Domini MCCCCLXXXV, ad annum MDLVIII. He brought out in the same year Venerabilis Bedae Epistolae Duae, necnon Vitae Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girwiensium. Accessit Egberti Archiepiscopi Eboracensis Bedae aequalis Dialogus, De Ecclesiastica Institutione.

Among Ware's other services to literary history was his publication in 1633 of Spenser's prose work, A View of the Present State of Ireland. Discoursed by way of a Dialogue betweene Eudoxus and Irenaeus. In the same year he again issued Spenser's View together with Edmund Campion's History of Ireland, Meredith Hanmer's Chronicle of Ireland, and Henry Marleburrough's Chronicle, all in one volume. This work of Spenser's, which was written in 1596, had lain in manuscript among Usher's papers, and was now for the first time given to the world. The principles therein laid down have been often condemned as not being by any means in keeping with the spirit which should have animated the gentle poet. It must always be remembered, however, that Spenser was himslf an "undertaker" or planter, having received the considerable grant of 3028 acres out of the confiscated Desmond Estates, and that, true to the instincts of his Anglo-Saxon forbears who had expelled the Britons from all the fertile lands of England, he looked upon Ireland and the fullness thereof as the peculiar

property of the English invaders. As the Saxon sea-rovers did not concern themselves about the feelings of the expelled Britons. so in this dialogue Spenser did but give expression to the idea that was at that time axiomatic in his race, that the "meere Irish" did not count, that everything should be arranged in the interest of the ruling class. "Vae victis and to the conquerors the spoils" would appear to have been his motto. In Ireland in the sixteenth century this was a short-sighted policy; but it was the policy, and from it arose the basic blunder which underlies his whole argument. His twin remedies for Irish disaffection are starvation and the sword. With 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to establish garrisons and devastate the country. he guarantees to lay Ireland, quiet and submissive, at the feet of Elizabeth in a year and a half. His scheme also provides for the transplantation of those rebels who "come in" and the killing off of those who don't, the planting of English adventurers and soldiers in their stead, and the abolition of the native language, customs, and dress. Some of his devices were adopted with a vengeance in the reign of James I and during the Protectorate of Cromwell.

The equanimity with which Spenser contemplates the reduction of Ulster to the state in which he himself had seen Munster after the crushing of the Desmond rebellion is enough to make the blood boil. What that meant he does not leave to the imagination, but tells us in language that to this day has not lost its sting. "The end (I assure me)," he tells us, "wil be very shorte, and much sooner then can be (in soe greate a trouble, as it seemeth) hoped for, allthough there should none of them fall by the swoorde, nor be slayne by the souldiour, yet thus being kept from manuraunce, and theyr cattell from running abrode, by this harde restraynte they would quickly consume themselves, and devoure one another. The proof wherof I sawe sufficiently ensampled in those late warres in Mounster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most riche and plentyfull countrey, full of corne and cattell, that you would have thought they would have been able to stand long, yet ere one yeare and a halfe they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stonye harte would have rued the same. Out of

every corner of the woodes and glinnes they came creeping foorthe upon theyr handes, for theyr legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomyes of death, they spake like ghostes crying out of theyr graves; they did eate of the dead carrions, happy were they yf they could finde them, yea, and one another soone after, insoemuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of theyr graves; and yf they founde a plotte of water-cresses or sham-rokes, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithall; that in shorte space there were none allmost left, and a most populous and plentyfull countrey suddaynly made voyde of man or beast: yet sure in all that warre, there perished not many by the swoorde, but all by the extremitye of famine which they themselves had wrought."

His true inwardness can be further judged from the elaborate defence which he puts up for Lord Grey in the matter of the massacre of the 900 Spaniards and Italians at Smerwick, which was in reality one of the most barbarous and indefensible atrocities recorded in the annals of war.

On education and on agricultural problems his views were sound. He unconsciously bears testimony to the absorbent powers of the Irish race—those qualities which had made the great Anglo-Norman families settled in Ireland Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores—by his eagerness to prohibit fosterage and intermarriage between the English and the Irish. A Gaelic Leaguer of to-day could derive a strong argument in favour of the revival of the Irish language from Spenser's anxiety to have it suppressed as one important step towards the denationalisation of the inhabitants of Ireland. "The speache being Irish," he says, "the harte must needes be Irish; for out of the aboundaunce of the harte the tonge speaketh." He gives his quota of praise to the bravery of the Irish soldier as follows: "I have heard some greate warriours say, that, in all the services which they had seene abroade in forrayne countreys, they never sawe a more comely horseman then the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge." And again, speaking of gallowglasses and kerns, the Irish foot-soldiers, he says, "They are very valiaunt and hardye, for the most part great endurours

of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardiness, very active and stronge of hand, very swift of foote, very vigilaunt and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perrils, very great scorners of death."

The Bards he also would suppress. And yet he finds some good in them. Eudoxus having asked if there is any art in their compositions or if there is anything witty or well savoured as poems should be, Irenaeus replies: "Yea truly; I have caused diverse of them to be translated unto me that I might understand them; and surely they savoured of sweete witt and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of Poetrye: yet were they sprinckled with some prety flowers of theyr owne naturall devise, which gave good grace and comliness unto them, the which it is greate pittye to see soe abused, to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which would with good usage serve to beautifye and adorne vertue."

A final point to be noted in Spenser's Dialogue is the distinction he draws between the conduct of the Catholic priests and that of the Protestant clergy. "It is greate wonder," he says, "to see the oddes which is betwene the zeale of Popish preistes, and the Ministers of the Gospell; for they spare not to come out of Spayne, from Rome, and from Rhemes, by long toyle and daungerous travell hither, where they knowe perrill of death awayteth them, and noe rewarde nor richess is to be founde, onely to draw the people to the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idell Ministers, having a waye for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livinges of the countrey offered them, without paynes, and without perrill, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, nor zeale of religion, nor for all the good they might doe by winning of soe many sowles to God, be drawen foorth from theyr warme nests and theyr sweete loves side to looke out into Godes harvest, which is even readye for the sickle, and all the fieldes yellow long agoe: doubtless those good old godly Fathers [St. Patrick and St. Columba] will (I feare me) rise up in the Daye of Judgement to condemne them."

A quaint Dublin publication of 1630 is Musarum Lachrymae; sive elegia Collegii Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis Juxta

Dublin; in obitum Illustrissimae et Religiosissimae Heroinae Catharinae Comitissae Corcagiae Vxoris Honoratissimi Richardi, Comitis Corcagiae, unius ex Primariis Iusticiariis totius Regni Hyberniae. These tears of the muses were shed in the form of brief poems in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and longer poems in English, to bewail the death of the second wife of Richard Boyle, "the great Earl of Cork." This lady had the distinction of being the mother of sixteen children, of whom one was the renowned student, scientist, and theologian, the Hon. Robert Boyle, a founder of the Royal Society, and another was that Earl of Orrery who, as Lord Broghill, had a distinguished military career in Ireland on the side of the Parliament, but who afterwards took a leading part in the restoration of Charles II.

A melancholy interest attaches to the anonymous work published at Dublin in 1681 entitled The Tryal and Condemnation of Dr. Oliver Plunkett, Titular Primate of Ireland, for High Treason At the Barr of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster in Trinity Term 1681. Oliver Plunkett-clarum et venerabile nomen—was the last, but by no means the least, of the victims of the popular frenzy produced by the strong anti-Catholic feeling which prevailed in England towards the end of the seventh decade of the seventeenth century, and which reached its climax in the infamous invention of the "Popish Plot" by Titus Oates. In England while the fury lasted the Catholics were subjected to every indignity. They were hooted, hissed, insulted, mobbed. Two thousand of them were thrown into prison and many of them, after trials which were a mockery of justice and a disgrace to civilization, perished on the scaffold. Macaulay thus describes the state of feeling which prevailed in those dark and evil days of 1678-1680: "The capital and the whole nation went mad with hatred and fear. The penal laws, which had begun to lose something of their edge, were sharpened anew. Everywhere justices were busy in searching houses and seizing papers. All the gaols were filled with Papists. London had the aspect of a city in a state of siege. The trainbands were under arms all night. Preparations were made for barricading the great thoroughfares. Patrols marched up and down the streets. Cannon were planted round Whitehall. No citizen thought himself safe unless he carried under his coat a small flail loaded with lead to brain the Popish assassins . . . Soon, from all the brothels, gambling-houses, and spunging houses of London, false witnesses poured forth to swear away the lives of Roman Catholics The juries partook of the feelings then common throughout the whole nation, and were encouraged by the bench to indulge those feelings without restraint. The multitude applauded Oates and his confederates, hooted and pelted the witnesses who appeared on behalf of the accused, and shouted with joy when the verdict of Guilty was pronounced."

Needless to say, the persecution did not fail to visit Ireland. Priests were ordered to leave the country, convents and churches were closed, Catholics were expelled from Galway, Limerick, Waterford, and other Irish cities. But a conspicuous victim was needed. Oliver Plunkett, Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was closely related to many aristocratic families, to Lord Louth and Lord Dunsany, Lord Roscommon and Lord Fingal. He was a man of saintly life, imbued with great zeal for religion, animated by a desire beyond the ordinary for the promotion of virtue among his flock. He was loyal to the reigning monarch and to the English connection. Yet this man was arrested in 1679, thrown into prison in Dublin Castle, and brought to trial at Dundalk in 1680 on a charge of high treason. man of peace was accused of being in traitorous correspondence with the French King, of having visited personally every port and fort in the kingdom, and of having organized in Ireland an army of 70,000 men! So absurd were these charges, and so bad was the character of the witnesses against him, that the Dundalk jury, composed exclusively of Protestants, scouted the case out of court, and it seemed likely that the intended victim would escape. But this did not suit the purpose of the party of bigotry and bloodshed. The Primate was dragged to London and tried once more. Time was not given him to produce his witnesses from Ireland, the witnesses whose perjuries were rejected at Dundalk were hailed with acclamation before the London tribunal, and Plunkett, tried in this manner, was sentenced

to death, and executed at Tyburn on the 11th of July, 1681. His one crime was to be a Catholic in a distinguished position at a time when prejudice against his creed ran high. That he was judicially murdered no one has ever had any doubt. That he died a martyr for his faith is the belief of every Catholic, and the steps recently taken in Rome towards his canonization prove that there are good grounds for that belief.

Another distinguished Irishman of this century was William Molyneux. Born in Dublin and a graduate of Trinity College, he was an excellent mathematician and scientist, being specially devoted to astronomy. In 1686 he published at Dublin his Sciothericum Telescopicum; or a New Contrivance of Adapting a Telescope to an Horizontal Dial for observing The Moment of Time by Day or Night, Useful in all Astronomical Observations, &c.; and in 1692 at London his Dioptrica Nova, which proved a godsend to the opticians of that day. He was a friend of John Locke, and is even credited with having suggested many of the improvements that appeared in the second edition (1695) of Locke's Essay Concerning the Human Understanding. 1692 Molyneux was elected to the Irish Parliament as representative of the University of Dublin. Although he approved of the Revolution of 1688 and was in favor of Protestant ascendancy and even of the penal laws, he had several of the qualities which go to make up an Irish patriot. He took a very decided stand on the question of the parliamentary relations between England and Ireland. The Irish woollen manufactures appear to have recovered from the prohibition of Wentworth in the reign of Charles I to such an extent that towards the end of the seventeenth century the magnitude of the exportation of Irish woollens alarmed the English manufacturers, and they petitioned the House of Lords on the subject. The Lords in turn petitioned King William III, and the King promised to "do all in his power to discourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland." Accordingly in 1698 there was passed in England an Act to prohibit the sending of manufactured woollen stuffs from Ireland to any country except England, and to England through only one or two ports, and then even at a prohibitive tariff. This Act was designed to destroy, and did

destroy, the Irish woollen trade. When it was brought up for re-enactment in the Irish Parliament, the only member to raise his voice in protest was Molyneux, and the iniquitous measure went through.

Molyneux had already given much attention to the encroachments of the English on the Irish Parliament; but this was the climax. Taking a stand stronger than that taken by Sir Richard Bolton at an earlier period and similar to that taken by Grattan and Flood in a later day, Molyneux asserted in his celebrated book, The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated, published at Dublin in 1698, that it was unconstitutional for the English Parliament to force legislation on Ireland, and in proof of his contention he instanced several Irish Acts that expressly asserted the non-subordination of the Irish to the English legislature. This book, received in Ireland with a chorus of applause, was brought before the English Parliament, and, although no attempt was made to deny its statements or rebut its reasoning, it was condemned in its entirety as subversive of the rights of the British assembly. It was further ordered to be burned by the common hangman, and thus its reputation was for ever assured. Had not Molyneux died in the same year at the early age of forty-two, there is scarcely a doubt that impeachment would have been his fate. There was no one to take up the question after his death, and the claims of the English Parliament were so far from being one jot abated that they were specifically asserted in the Sixth of George I (1719). So, despite protests from Swift and Lucas, the matter remained, until, in 1782, the arguments of Grattan and the Convention of the Irish Volunteers at Dungannon wrung from the Rockingham administration the repeal of the Sixth of George I, the annulment of Poyning's Law, and the restoration of the right of the Irish lords to hear appeals, and thus established, though only for a brief period, an independent Irish parliament.

Newspapers began to make their appearance in Ireland in this century. The first mentioned is one entitled Warranted Tidings from Ireland, published in 1641, but whether it was printed there or not is doubtful. The earliest periodical which we know with certainty to have been published in Ireland was

Number One of The Irish Monthly Mercury, printed at Cork in 1649. It contains valuable information concerning the movements of the army of the Parliament. Strictly partisan and entirely on Cromwell's side, it is written in racy style and is not wholly free from certain Rabelaisian touches. Among the earliest Dublin periodicals are The Newsletter, 1659; An Account of the Chief Occurrences of Ireland, 1660; the Mercurius Hibernicus, or the Irish Intelligencer, a weekly paper, 1663; The Dublin Intelligence, 1690; The Flying Post, or the Postmaster, 1698; and Pue's Occurrences, a daily paper, 1700.

That printing was carried on at Cork as early as the middle of the century we have The Irish Monthly Mercury as proof. We also find that there was printed in that city on the 25th of February, 1649-50, Certaine Acts and Declarations made by the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of the Archbishops, Bishops and other Prelates met at Clonmacnoise the 4 day of Decr. 1649. Together with a Declaration of the Ld. Lieut. of Ireland, &c. &c. This pamphlet was reprinted in Dublin in the same year. Another Cork publication was the duodecimo volume Iniquisitio in fidem Christianorum hujus saeculi, auctore Rogero Boyle, Decano Corcagiensi. Corcagiae, 1664. Among the prominent figures of the two exciting decades ending in 1661 was Dr. Edward Worth, who, from being Dean of Cork, became an Independent minister in that city and in Waterford, and wound up as Bishop of Killaloe. In 1653, after a public disputation on the subject of infant baptism, he published at Cork a pamphlet entitled Scripture Evidences for Baptizing of Infants of Covenanters. He also published at Cork a sermon preached at the funeral of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam, and at Dublin a sermon preached at the funeral of Chief Justice Pepys, the latter under the title of The Servant doing and the Lord Blessing, 1659.

Turning to other centres we find that both at Waterford and Kilkenny the Confederates established printing presses, and that both appear to have been actively employed. In fact, Dr. Conor in his *Columbanus* tells us that the nuncio's presses at Waterford and Kilkenny teemed with publications. In 1643

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one Thomas Bourke styled himself printer to the confederate Catholics of Ireland. The best known of the early works printed at Kilkenny is the *Hibernia Dominicana* by Thomas De Burgo or Burke, but that belongs to the eighteenth century.

A sermon preached by Robert Daborne in Waterford on the text from Zech. xr. 7, "And I took unto me two staves; the one I called Beauty, and the other Bands; and I fed the flock," was published in 1620 with a dedication to the Earl of Thomond. Lord President of Munster. An answer to this was printed at the Confederate press at Waterford in 1644 under the title An Inquisition of a sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of the city of Waterford in February, 1619. The following is the imprimatur prefixed to the latter work: Approbatio. Librum hunc cui titulus "The Inquisition of a Sermon, &c." a R. P. Fr. P. C. Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, et Sacrae Theologiae Doctore, editum, accurate perlegi, nihil in eo inveni, quod fidei Catholicae, aut bonis moribus adversetur, imo plurima ad eandem fidem stabiliendam et Puritanorum errores profligandos, quem proinde praela et luce dignissimum censeo: Sic testor hac die 28 Junii, 1644 - Michael Hackett, Sacrae Theologiae Doctor, et Cathedralis Waterfordiensis Praecentor.

A final word must be said by way of explanation of what otherwise might appear a strange fact. With only one or two exceptions the works of which a short account is given in this article were written by non-Catholics. Catholic writers appear to be quite inactive. But it is only in appearance. It must be remembered that to write or print a Catholic work in Ireland in the seventeenth century, unless at Kilkenny or Waterford during the brief heyday of the Confederation, was a dangerous experiment. Such works were generally printed and published on the Continent, and were smuggled into Ireland as opportunity offered: hence an account of them does not properly fall within our present scope. Yet they offer a wide field to the investigator. It was during this very time of persecution and suppression of everything Catholic that Luke Wadding and Geoffrey Keating and Nicholas French and David Rothe and John Lynch and John Colgan and Michael Ward and the Four Masters and numerous other Irish writers, most of them in exile and some

of them seeking shelter in the mountains and caves and deserted monasteries of their native land, produced those monumental works, in Latin, Irish, and English, which are among the glories of the Irish race, and are the vindication of Ireland's continued claim to the title of the land of scholars. This brilliant galaxy of Irish writers shine like the stars through the dark night of persecution, but it is only in comparatively recent times that their radiance has begun to beat full upon us. Their works are not nearly well enough known, even yet; but as time goes on and the mists of prejudice are lifting, increased attention is being directed to them. The more these writings are examined, the more the difficulties under which they were composed are understood, the greater will be the admiration they inspire in all who love scholarly attainments and at the same time seek to know the truth.

P. J. LENNOX.





